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beneficial to their interests than to those of the rest of the community ; and we confidently trust, that Congress, unmoved by any temporary burst of opposition, and especially unmoved by the declamations, the sophistry, or the sneers of interested foreigners, will exhibit, in their future proceedings on this subject, the uniformity, steadiness, and wisdom, which have characterized those of all their predecessors. We mean not to intimate an opinion, that they should make no alteration whatever in the details of the existing Tariff, which may be, and probable is, in some parts, susceptible of improvement. We only mean, that all the legislation on economical matters, however modified in particular points, should display throughout the grand and leading features of a real *American System*.

ART. VII.—*Lafayette en Amérique en 1824 et 1825 ; ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats-Unis.* Par A. LEVASSEUR, Secrétaire du Général Lafayette pendant son Voyage. Orné de onze Gravures et d'une Carte. En deux Volumes. 8vo. Paris. 1829.

WE have been agreeably disappointed in this work. We feared, that the general familiarity with its subject, at least on the part of its American readers, would take from it all the interest of novelty, and that, from the nature of the case, it must want that of variety. We have found, on trial, that, in both respects, our apprehension was ill-founded. Although we certainly watched the progress of the nation's guest through the country, with the most willing and unabated attention, yet we find, that the details of his progress, in the remote sections of the union, were not, as it was not to be expected they should be, transferred to the public journals in this quarter. A corresponding remark, no doubt, would hold true of any other district of the United States ; and we are well persuaded, that wherever the work is taken up, a good portion of the contents will be substantially new to the reader. This will of course be strictly the case with all those parts of the two volumes which relate to matters of a character not to come before the public at the time, or not from any other source than the General himself, or some person directly connected with him ;—

everything strictly personal in its nature. Then as to variety, it is not the least astonishing fact connected with this extraordinary visit,—an event, taken in all its parts, unparalleled in the history of man,—that its narrative exhibits an unbounded variety of incident, circumstance, and adventure. The arrival of this great and good person in the country, the reappearance of this friendly genius in the sphere of his youthful and beneficent visitations, seemed to call up the whole population of the country in array to welcome him ; but not in the stiff uniform of a parade, not in the court dress of a heartless ceremony. Society presented itself before him in all its shades and gradations, of which more are to be found coëxisting in the United States than in any other country. The wealth and luxury of the sea-coast, the newborn abundance of the West ; the fashion of the town, the cordiality of the country ; the authorities, municipal, national, and state ; the living relics of the revolution, honored in the honors paid to their comrade in arms ; the scientific and learned bodies, the children at the schools, the members of the associations of active life and of charity ; the exiles of Spain, France, and Switzerland ; banished monarchs ; patriots of whom Europe was not worthy ; the African and the Indian ;—all took an active and an appropriate part in this auspicious drama of real life. Had the deputed representatives of these various interests and conditions been assembled at some grand ceremonial of reception, in honor of the illustrious stranger, it would have itself, even as the pageant of an hour, have constituted an august spectacle. It would then have borne a worthy and proud comparison with those illustrious triumphs of heroic Rome, where conquered nations and captive princes followed in the train, and which seemed, with reason, to lift the frail mortal, to whom they were conceded, above the earth over which he was borne.

But when we consider, that this glorious and purer triumph was coëxtensive with the Union ; that it swept from state to state, and from section to section, one long, unbroken career of rapturous welcome,—banishing feuds, appeasing dissensions, and hushing all tumults but the acclamations of joy,—uniting in one great act of public salutation a fierce and free people, on the eve of a furious contest, with the *aura epileptica* of the canvass already rushing over the body politic ; that it was continued near a twelvemonth, an *annus mirabilis* of rejoicing, auspiciously commenced, successfully pursued, and happily and

gracefully accomplished, we have in it the elements and substance of a great chapter in the fate of nations, nowhere else to be found ; and which, to be realized and relished, must have been witnessed. The fate of nations, we say, for it was nothing less. In addition to what was peculiar and personal in Lafayette,—and of this there was enough to furnish out a liberal assignment of merit to a dozen great men of the common sort,—it was necessary that numerous high associations should have linked his name with all the great political convulsions of the day. Having performed an arduous, dangerous, honorable, and successful part in that crisis in the fate of our own country, which is of itself unexampled in human things, it was necessary, that, pursuing the path of immortal renown, on which his feet had laid hold in America, he should have engaged among the foremost in that stupendous revolution of his own country, where he stood serene amidst the madness of an empire ; wielding, without abusing, a military force as far greater than that of the Emperor Napoleon, as the spontaneous rush of a whole race of men is more formidable than the march of a class of the conscription. It was necessary to the feeling with which Lafayette was received in America, that he should have nobly washed his hands of the blood of that revolution, and that the emperors of the earth, in mockery of the long-suffering of Providence, should have immured him in their dungeons for having protected their crowned daughters from the midnight assassin. It was necessary, when another stupendous reaction of things had seated the man of destiny on the throne of France, and, as it seemed, of Europe, that Lafayette alone, not by a convulsive effort of fanatical hardihood, but in the calm consciousness of a weight of character that would bear him out in the step, should deliberately, and in writing, refuse to acknowledge the power, before which the whole contemporary generation quailed. When again the wheel of empire had turned, and when this dreadful colossus had been crushed beneath the weight of Europe (mustered against him more in desperation than in self-assured power), and in falling had dragged down to the dust the honor and the strength of France, it was necessary, when the dust and smoke of the contest had blown off, that the faithful sentinel of liberty should have been seen at his post, ready again to stake his life and his reputation, in another of those fearful and critical junctures, when the stoutest hearts are apt to re-

treat, and leave the field to desperate men,—the forlorn hope of affairs,—whom some inevitable necessity crowds up to the breach. To refute every imputation of a selfish policy, of a wish to restore himself in the good graces of restored royalty, it was necessary that he, the only individual of continental Europe, who, within the reach of Napoleon's sceptre, had refused to acknowledge his title, should be coldly viewed by the reappearing dynasty, and that he should be seen and heard, not in the court or the cabinet, but at the tribune, the calm, rational, ever consistent champion of freedom, a representative of the people in constitutional France. These were the titles of Lafayette to the respect, the love, the passionate admiration of the people, to whom he had consecrated the bloom of his youth, for whom he had lavished his treasure and his blood.

We might have added, that, in order to give even to common minds a topic of delightful and mysterious admiration, when strong minds were tasked to do justice to the theme,—in order to make a character, in which even the ingredients of romance were mingled up with the purest, loftiest, and sternest virtues, these just and authentic titles to respect were united in an individual who had been placed by birth, education, and fortune, in the foremost circle of the gay chivalry of France; who sacrificed all that a false ambition could covet, before he aspired to all that a pure and noble ambition could reach; and thus began life, by trampling under foot the glittering baubles, which Chatham accepted, and Burke did not refuse, and for which the mass of eminent men in Europe barter health, comfort, and conscience. Such was the man whom the Congress of the United States invited to our shores, and who came to gather in the rich harvest of a people's love. Well might he do it. He had sown it in weakness; should he not reap it in power? He had come to us, a poor and struggling colony, and periled his life in our cause; was he not entitled to the gratitude of the flourishing state? When he embarked in our cause, it was the utmost he could have promised himself, in the ordinary calculation of human things, and in the almost desperate event of a successful issue to the struggle, that some far distant posterity would illustrate, by the growth and prosperity of the country, the value of those services which he had contributed to her freedom. It was just, that he should himself come to witness and enjoy its rapid, its miraculous growth and elevation. We pity the hearts, quite as much as

we do the heads of those, who have seen and proclaimed in his brilliant reception, nothing but an 'ostentatious love of parade.' There never was a simpler, juster movement of a people. The triumph of Lafayette through America was as righteously due him, as the harvest is due to the husbandman, who has planted the seed and tilled the soil. His services, his character, his history, his life were fairly and richly entitled to it; and though, most manifestly, nothing more unpremeditated and unexpected ever took place in the affairs of a nation, yet, had the most rigid deliberation on what was decent and proper preceded his visit, not a shout of welcome would have been retrenched. He deserved it all for himself; and it was also due to the principles which had guided him, and the great cause which, in both hemispheres, he had served.

In common cases, nations must necessarily act and speak through the organs of their government, and less directly through that of the press. But it cannot often happen, that either channel of communication does justice to the intense and hearty concert of opinion and feeling which takes possession of a free people in reference to some great exciting subjects. Occasionally this opinion and this feeling will find another and a vastly more general, emphatic, far-resounding utterance; usually by means of primary assemblies throughout the country. The advent of Lafayette furnished an occasion singularly well adapted for such a testimony, on the part of the American people, to the great cause of liberty. The revolutions in Spanish America had appealed strongly to the sympathy of the people of the United States, and the unanimous recognition of their independence was a fine burst of legislative feeling; the excitement in favor of reviving Greece was widely felt, and warmly expressed, and liberally manifested; but neither of these subjects was in its nature so susceptible of the cordial coöperation of the American people, nor so free from all alloy of doubt and human imperfection. There was positively nothing to qualify the good will and heartiness, with which the people of America rose up to welcome the great champion of human right, and, in recognising his merit, to reassert the principles to which his life had been consecrated. Never perhaps did so fine an occasion for bearing this testimony present itself. In the common course of things, the field of battle, too often disastrous battle, has been the theatre on which a whole people, struggling to be free, has proclaimed its love of liberty. There is scarce any other oc-

casion, that can naturally draw them forth. Here was a scene of peace and love ; comprehending, from its nature, a whole people, uniting all parties, and all men who loved their country, with all the animation derived from the actual presence of a living object of respect and affection.

The very commencement and conclusion of the voyage of Lafayette,—we mean those portions of it, which were performed on the soil of France,—will furnish the best illustration of the distinction we would draw between the militant and the triumphant testimony of the friends of liberty. In the first chapter of the work before us we find the following paragraph.

‘The patriotism of the citizens of Havre had prepared for Lafayette a reception in that city of a nature well calculated to touch his feelings. But the preposterous jealousy of the authorities interfered with the *fête*, and if the citizens had been less *discreet*, would have changed it into a scene of disorder and perhaps of blood. Agents of the police, *gendarmes*, and Swiss guards emulated each other, in their zeal to repress the noble sentiments of the people, during the short time that General Lafayette remained among them. It was, however, in presence of the whole population, and under the liveliest manifestations of the public feeling, that he embarked on the thirteenth of May.’ Vol. i. p. 4.

This scene, to the credit of the municipality of Havre for the succeeding year, or of those, from whom that municipality received its instructions, was reversed when the General returned to France. ‘As to the authorities of the city,’ says Colonel Levasseur, ‘they were this year all that they ought to have been the last year, and gave free scope to the manifestation of public opinion. In his passage from the port to the house of M. de Laroche, where he took up his quarters, the General had not the pain of seeing his friends threatened by the sabre of *gendarmes*, or insulted by the presence of foreign troops.’

Far different was the scene at Rouen.

‘On arriving at Rouen, we took lodgings with M. Cabanon, a respectable merchant, who continued to represent the department in the Chamber of Deputies, as long as his fellow citizens were untrammelled in the exercise of the right of suffrage. The colleague and friend of General Lafayette, he had claimed the privilege of receiving at his table the guest of America ; and had procured him the pleasure of meeting there with the members of his family and a large number of the most respectable citizens of the ancient capital of Normandy. Toward the conclusion of the

dinner, the General was informed, that a numerous assemblage was collected in the street, attended by a band of musicians, and desirous to salute him. He hastened to the balcony, to acknowledge this mark of the regard of the people of Rouen. But scarcely had the first acclamations been heard, when detachments of the royal guards and the *gendarmerie* were seen advancing from each extremity of the street, in which M. Cabanon's house stood, who, without previous warning, proceeded to disperse the throng. The discretion with which the guards executed the orders received from an imprudent and blinded authority, proved how repugnant this service was to their feelings; but the *gendarmerie*, solicitous no doubt to show itself the worthy instrument of the power by which it was employed, made a *valiant* charge upon the defenceless citizen, and, without allowing themselves to be impeded by the cries of the women and children, who were trampled under their horses' feet, a manufacturer from Bolbec, an old man of Rouen, and several other persons, were severely wounded. Many others were illegally and brutally arrested. After these glorious exploits, the *gendarmes*, left masters of the field, awaited the departure of General Lafayette, sword in hand, and accompanied his carriage to the hotel where he was to lodge, abusing him as they went.' Vol. II. pp. 620, 621.

'The next morning, October the 8th, the court of the hotel was filled by young men on horseback, determined to escort the General to the first post. Their looks and some expressions which fell from them persuaded me, that their feelings still dwelt on the scene of the preceding evening, and that they had resolved that it should not be renewed with impunity. The posts of infantry and *gendarmerie* had been doubled during the night, as if great events were expected the following day; but happily the authorities stopped short, with these ridiculous demonstrations, and General Lafayette departed unmolested from the city, receiving on his way frequent manifestations of the good will of the people.' p. 623.

It is pleasing, however, to reflect, that the tone of authority has, since this period, been lowered in France, and that the voice of popular feeling is daily gathering strength and decision. And here again, amidst the ferment which agitates the anxious friends of liberty, our beloved General is the central point to which their thoughts and hopes are rallied. It is well known, that an entire change of ministry has recently taken place in France, by which the administration has been thrown back into the hands of the Ultra-royal party. The burst of public indignation has been tremendous, and while we write, the news of the overthrow of this strange new combination, is

expected by the first arrivals from Europe. Meantime, General Lafayette, on an occasion of private business, has been led to traverse a part of the South of France, and to visit the city of Lyons. Wherever he moves he is received with demonstrations of joy, scarcely less unanimous than those which hailed him in America ; and restrained by the arm of arbitrary power from a more direct opposition to a ministry, constituted in open defiance of the people's will, they have gathered about the veteran champion of the cause. He has met their advances, with a vigor and a plainness worthy of the man and of the crisis ; and we recommend those, who have doubted the talent and the force of character of Lafayette, to read the speeches addressed by him to the citizens of Lyons, on entering that city, and at the public festival given there in his honor.

But it is time that we speak more particularly of Colonel Levasseur's work. We need scarcely recall to the minds of our readers, that this gentleman accompanied General Lafayette during his tour in America, in the capacity of private secretary. It appears, that he continued to sustain that relation to the General for two or three years after the conclusion of the voyage ; and it is stated in the Preface to this work, as the reason for delaying its appearance till the present time, that its author felt himself restrained, by motives of delicacy, from publishing the account of this memorable tour, so long as he should remain in the service of the General. No part therefore of the responsibility of the work rests with Lafayette ; at the same time, that the relation subsisting between him and the author, and the confidence implied in it on the part of the General, furnish abundant guarantee of the authenticity of every portion of it. We repeat, that, although every reader in the United States may, at first, be inclined to suppose that he derived, at the time, from the newspapers of the day, minute and adequate information on the subject of this memorable tour, there are few readers, who will not find a good portion of it recommended by substantial novelty ; and still fewer to whom this continuous narrative of an event,—raised by its moral influence far above the character of a mere incident in the chapter of passing occurrences,—may not be perused to advantage. It is especially the best record, which we can preserve and hand down to our children, of one of those portions of history we would most wish them to enjoy ; and were it only on this account, it ought to find a place in every American library. To

the foreign reader, in addition to the interest arising from its main topic, it will possess considerable value for the historical and statistical information which it contains relative to the different States of the Union.

Regarding the reception of the General on his landing and in the principal Atlantic cities, as those portions of the work least likely to possess the attraction of novelty, we shall not dwell upon them. We make only the following quotation, from the chapter which relates the passage from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

‘Just as we were going on board the steam-boat, which was to take us to Baltimore, we were informed that the Secretary of State, Mr Adams, had arrived at Frenchtown, on his return to Washington, and had eagerly accepted the invitation to join the party which accompanied the General, who had the pleasure of meeting in Mr Adams an old and valued acquaintance.

‘Many travellers, who have visited the United States, and who pretend to be acquainted with the character of the people, have maintained that the Americans, in spite of their republican institutions, are essentially aristocratic in their manners. The following occurrence, by no means a solitary one, may serve as an answer to this accusation, the rather as it will be followed up by many others of the same character, which I shall have occasion to relate.

‘On board the steam-boat, which was to take us down the Chesapeake bay, a small cabin had been prepared for General Lafayette; and as the committee of arrangements had had the kindness to think, that those who had shared his fatigues ought to share his repose, they had caused two other beds to be placed in the same apartment, one for his son, and one for his secretary. We were ignorant how our fellow travellers, who were exceedingly numerous, were to pass the night, when Mr George Lafayette, having occasion to traverse the main cabin, where we had just dined, found that it had been transformed into a dormitory, covered with beds, of which the crowd of passengers took possession without ceremony. Among those thus provided for, he was surprised to see Mr Adams. He urged him to exchange beds with him. Mr Adams declined. I came up at this juncture and joined my solicitations to those of Mr George Lafayette, adding that I hoped he would not give me the mortification of sleeping in a good bed, while a person of his character was stretched on the floor. He replied in obliging terms, but positively declined a compliance with our request. Finally, pressed by our renewed urgency, and by an appeal which we had made to the name of General Lafayette, he declared, that, even were he disposed to accept our proposal, he could not do it with propriety, as the committee had reserved

the apartment for General Lafayette and his suite, and their arrangements ought above all things to be regarded by their fellow citizens. Mr George Lafayette repaired immediately to a member of the committee, and begged him, in the name of his father, to admit Mr Adams into our cabin, in the place of one of us. This last condition did not appear admissible to the committee, who finally determined to have a fourth bed placed in our cabin for Mr Adams, not because he was Secretary of State, but because General Lafayette had wished to have him, as an old friend, by his side. Nor would Mr Adams leave the crowd to enter our room, till he had received a formal invitation from the committee. If the American manners are prone to aristocracy, it must be admitted that the high officers of government do not enjoy its immunities.' Vol. I. pp. 334-336.

The following curious incident occurred during the visit of the General at Yorktown, which, though of course mentioned in the papers at the time, we do not recollect to have noticed.

'A circumstance somewhat curious,' says Colonel Levasseur, 'gave additional zest to this patriotic and military festival. I have already observed, that on the arrival of General Lafayette at Yorktown, he had taken up his lodgings in the same house, where Lord Cornwallis was quartered, forty years before. Some servants, in examining the cellar with a view to the deposit of the refreshments and stores provided for the *fête*, found a large box in a dark corner, the appearance and antiquity of which excited their notice. On opening it, they found it filled with wax candles. The address on the cover of the box was then examined, and it proved to be a part of the stores laid in for Lord Cornwallis, during the siege. The tidings of this prize spread through the house, to the tents; the wax candles were taken possession of, and lighted in the centre of the encampment, where a ball was given by the troops to the ladies of the neighborhood. A ball at Yorktown in 1824, lighted by Lord Cornwallis's candles, was a subject of no little pleasantry to the old soldiers, who attended the *fête*; few of whom, notwithstanding their age and the fatigues of the day, would quit the spot, till they had seen the candles down to the socket.' pp. 405, 406.

On occasion of this visit to Yorktown, which suggested the recollection of a brilliant exploit achieved by the coöperation of French arms, Colonel Levasseur falls into a train of reflections equally just and ingenious, and tending to expose the narrow grounds, on which the opponents of liberal institutions have chosen to place their cause, even on occasions, when it most imported them to give the widest range to the principle of conciliation, and where circumstances seemed to court them to

adopt a generous tone. Colonel Levasseur had the gratification of receiving from an American, who is not named, details of the conduct of the French army in this campaign, alike creditable to its discipline, spirit, and bravery.

‘I do not deny,’ he adds, ‘that these tributes to the noble conduct of my fellow citizens penetrated my heart with delight. Why, then, at the period of the French restoration in 1815, when its leaders were aiming to associate its banners with glorious recollections, or to obliterate the memory of the triumphs of the three-colored cockade, why did they perpetually invoke the standard of Henry the Fourth, which was never displayed but in civil wars, or that of Louis the Fourteenth, that led the way to dear-bought victories or disastrous retreats? Why did not *they* claim, as a lawful inheritance, a part of the glory of the American revolutionary war? Was it not beneath the *drapeau blanc*, that the grenadiers of Rochambeau marched to the storm of Yorktown? Was it not under the colors of *legitimacy*, that our marine immortalized itself, by securing the deliverance of a free people, by the dispersion of the English fleets. Would they reject this glory because it was earned in the service of liberty? I know not. But one thing is certain, that, while we were celebrating the anniversary of the taking of Yorktown, the French squadron, commanded by Admiral ———, and then lying in Hampton Roads, within hearing of the shouts with which grateful America commemorated the services of France, remained coldly aloof from a festival, which ought to have been regarded as a family *fête* of the two nations. For the rest, we were apprized that this inexplicable indifference or coldness was not shared either by the crews, or by the majority of the officers of the squadron. Among the latter some succeeded in leaving their vessels, and joining in a civil dress the patriotic festival, at which, could they have presented themselves in their character as French officers, the place of honor would have been cheerfully assigned them by the Americans.’ pp. 420–422.

We must here be permitted to make a few remarks on the relations, in which the governments of Europe stand to the United States of America, considered as a power representing popular principles, in their purest form. The only leading powers of Europe, with which our relations are likely to assume a critical cast, are England, France, and Russia. Russia, although the power whose institutions would seem most at variance with our own, has ever shown the kindest disposition toward the government of the United States. Our ministers at St Petersburg have been treated with something more than ceremonious courtesy. She offered her mediation to

bring about a peace between the United States and Great Britain, in a manner evincing the most cordial friendship for America. Having taken a ground, in reference to the extent of her possessions on the Northwest Coast of America, and the rights of other powers in the navigation of the North Pacific, inconsistent with the claims of the United States in that quarter, instead of setting a commission of lawyers to work,—as Great Britain did on the like occasion,—to draw up a sophistical title to territory discovered, explored, and rightfully claimed by the United States, Russia came handsomely and promptly to a reasonable settlement of the question. For the only claims of our merchants on her for spoliations, she has long since made ample and honorable indemnity. All this is to the credit of the honor and probity of the Russian councils, and in that light we name it. But were she pursuing the most selfish course from the merest motives of calculation, she would not have done otherwise. No American statesman can rise from the survey of the foreign affairs of his country, without feelings of kindness toward Russia. And as surely as causes produce effects, this feeling will operate, whenever occasion is presented, by the international relations of the states of Europe and America. We admit, that, as Russia was very slightly concerned, in any way, with the revolutionary politics of the United States, this friendly course, on her part, was not attended with any difficulty; although all the prejudices of that government (a government too, which derives its tone from the feelings of one individual, and is therefore less amenable to public sentiment) might have been expected to run in an opposite direction in respect to the United States, as a revolutionary and democratic government.

France and England are more delicately situated. Natural enemies (as it is called) to each other, America is the rebellious offspring (as it is again called) of England; and although our revolution was most powerfully aided by the government of France, administered by the present reigning family, yet this same revolution is regarded as having had great influence in bringing on that of France, which, in its course, became so disastrous to the then head of that family. These circumstances, we admit, produce a relation of some delicacy; and what has been the effect? In England, generally speaking, the government party, inheriting the feelings of the year 1775, has not only retained the soreness and irritation of that period,

but, through the literary organs under its influence, has libelled America, its institutions, its manners, and its citizens, atrociously and systematically ; and still does it. The liberal party, as such, has been disposed in England to entertain a sympathy with America ; and this circumstance gives to that party all the real strength they possess. But for the prosperous event of the American revolution, the issue of the French revolution would have made the very name of a liberal party a by-word in Europe for five centuries to come. If the patriots in America had been trampled down and put in the wrong, and an arbitrary government consolidated on their necks, and all the fair abounding fruits of liberal institutions, in this hemisphere, nipped in the bud ; and if, on the heels of this deplorable result, the French revolution, with its train of ghastly excesses, had crowded, we say again, that the cause of liberal institutions would have stood about as fair in England, as it does at present in the Celestial empire of China. So that we make use of no exaggeration, when we say, that the liberal party in England owes whatever strength it possesses to America, and their supposed sympathy with us. On the other hand, the opposite party, by persevering in a hostile disposition, by keeping its pack of venal scribblers in full cry against us, not only most effectually strengthens the liberal party at home, but puts itself in the wrong on almost all questions, on which the good feelings of the age are strongly enlisted. If the British ministry systematically cultivated such a feeling toward us as animates the Russian government, it would not only be productive of the happiest effects between the two countries, and obviate, as far as depends on Great Britain, the cruel necessity of a periodical war, but (which, to be sure, is no business of ours) it would, more than anything else in their foreign relations, strengthen them at home. This is so unquestionable, that a weak minister is *comparatively* well disposed to the United States, and a popular minister the reverse. The whole period since the peace of 1815, till the last year, has been covered by the ministerial influences of Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning. Of the two, the liberal minister, the minister who sprung from the people, and boasted of his origin, was by far the less liberal, in his official intercourse with the United States. Nor have we much doubt, that the case will continue to be illustrated by Lord Wellington, who, weak in those points in which Mr Canning felt himself strong,—we mean the eulogies of the

liberal press,—will feel no inclination to add to the other embarrassments of his administration, that of keeping up Mr Canning's absurd quarrel with us, and continuing to reject the overtures, made by the United States, for a settlement of the question of the colonial trade on terms professedly satisfactory to England herself. Should this conciliatory course, however, be adopted by the Duke of Wellington, it will only be in his case, as it was in Lord Londonderry's, the convenience of the minister, triumphing over the prejudices of the Tory.

The relations of the government of France towards the United States are still more complicated, in consequence of the supposed connexion between the revolutions of the two countries. There is no cordiality between the governments of England and France, except as far as a government of France, unsupported by the popular feeling in that country, may lean upon the British government for support. But, in the nature of things, there is no predilection on the part of these governments for each other; and consequently the cordiality between the French and the American governments ought to increase, as the unfriendliness of the British councils towards us or them is apparent. In fact, from a principle of this kind was derived, no doubt, the resolution of the French government to take part in our revolutionary struggle. We speak, of course, only of the reasons of state which actuated the ministry and the king. But the close succession of the French revolution upon ours seemed to identify the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty with the event of the American contest, and engraved a horror of all revolutions on the heart of the kings of France. But this, like all the other cruel contradictions of the French revolution, ought, for the interest of both nations, to be forgotten. France, as such, might possess, in the revolutionary recollections of America, a tower of strength. The same reasons of state, which prompted the ministry of Louis the Sixteenth to the very strong measure of sending his fleets, in a time of peace with England, to take the part of the revolted colonies, certainly suggest, to any administration of his successors, the expediency of cherishing and reciprocating the friendly sentiments of America toward France. It is for the interest of France to follow the example, not of England, but of Russia; and not to look with coldness on the ripe fruits of the revolutionary struggle, whose first germs she fostered and protected. We cannot well conceive of anything more unnatural,

than an order given by the French ministry to the officers of a squadron of Charles the Tenth to refuse to join the Americans in 1824, in commemorating a victory gained by the coöperation of the armies of his brother, Louis the Sixteenth, in 1781.

But we return to the work before us. The passage of General Lafayette through the territory of the Creek Indians, is a portion of this narrative among the most curious. Several of the incidents, however, through some other channel, have already appeared before the public, and we may therefore venture to forbear the quotation of them. The reception of General Lafayette, by the population of New Orleans, was, in like manner, not among the least interesting occurrences of the tour. The large proportion of French intermixed with the American, in that population, was a circumstance which could not but add much to the enthusiasm, with which this illustrious son of France was received. But there were others, besides the French and Americans, that pressed with equal earnestness about him, and we are not sure that any part of these volumes has appealed more strongly to our own feelings, than that which records the interview of the Spanish patriots with General Lafayette.

‘In the course of the morning,’ says Colonel Levasseur, ‘a deputation of Spanish settlers and refugees waited on the General, to pay their respects to him, and especially to express their gratitude to him, for the manner, in which, in the Chamber of Deputies, he had opposed the invasion of Spain, and the overthrow of the liberal constitution. The organ of the deputation thus expressed himself;

“General, the Spaniards established in this region, and those proscribed in their native land, have united to offer you their sincere congratulations on your arrival in these States; whose fruitful liberties are owing in part to your sacrifices and your perseverance. They congratulate themselves on the opportunity, which they thus enjoy (amidst the patriotic recollections of one portion of their company, and the distressing anxieties of the other), of beholding the hero, whose actions, words, and conduct justify their liberal sentiments, and the extremity to which they have gone, in withdrawing themselves from the reach of a government, which persecutes and dooms them, and exposes them to the danger and vicissitudes of exile. Your esteem for the brave and unfortunate Riego; the tribute of remembrance, which, on all occasions, you have taken pleasure in paying to this ill-fated victim of a cruel and jealous court; the homage with which you honor the ashes of this worthy patriot, are at once the best encouragement

and reward for those, who devote themselves to the sacred cause of liberty. Spaniards, who admired his virtues and shared his opinions, now unfortunate and in exile, come to you, General, with a tranquil conscience. They dare salute you, because they are free from reproach. They are unfortunate. But if in sacrificing themselves, they could save their country, they would cheerfully offer up their lives, invoking, under the axe, the name of Lafayette, and of those, who, like him, presume not to place the obstacles of despotism, tyranny, and the inquisition, in opposition to the spirit of the age, to improvement, and to freedom. Accept, General, the affectionate tribute of our admiration; and let the unhappy Spanish exiles obtain from you an expression of consolation for themselves, and all others who fly before the wasting scourge of tyranny. Such an expression, General, shall be a pledge of your protection, a proof of their innocence, and an assurance of a future more auspicious and honorable to their country."

"The General, whose principles had led him to oppose with energy a measure reproved by France, a measure, which had produced results so afflictive to Spain, and the courageous victims of which were now before him, was profoundly affected by their testimonials of grateful respect, and expressed himself as follows to M. Campe, the president of the deputation;

"I am equally touched and flattered, sir, by these assurances of esteem and confidence with which I am honored by the former sons of Spain, now citizens of this state, associated, on this occasion, with Spaniards but lately proscribed by a government of terror, that has usurped their rights.

"While I congratulate those of you, gentlemen, who have the happiness to be members of the great American confederacy, let us all rejoice in the thought that the cause of liberty will in the end triumph over hostile alliances and fraudulent intrigues. Already your beautiful language, the language of Padilla, has become, over an immense extent of territory, in this hemisphere, the language of an independent republic. Already, at two different periods, in the native land of the illustrious and worthy Riego, that language has been the vehicle, in the bosom of the Cortes, of the most eloquent and generous strains; and whatever may have been the momentary success of a war, detested, I delight to say, by France, and of a treacherous influence, in reference to which the Spanish patriots have nothing to learn, liberty will soon return to enlighten and fertilize this interesting part of Europe. Then, and then only, will the manes of Riego, of his young and unfortunate spouse, and of so many other victims to tyranny and superstition, be appeased. Meantime, gentlemen, I am truly grateful for the value, which the Spanish exiles, among whom I reckon

many excellent personal friends, are pleased to place on my regard for them ; and I pray you and them, gentlemen, to accept my sincere and respectful thanks.” Vol. II. pp. 213-216.

Who needs to be reminded, that by thus boldly and eloquently asserting the cause of freedom, wherever he went in his wide tour throughout the United States, General Lafayette turned the etiquette of a ceremonious reception into a living and abiding lesson of the highest truth ? By whom else with such authority, on what occasion with such force, to what audience with such pertinency, could the cause of Spanish liberty have been pleaded ? This beautiful incident was followed up by another, if not more imposing, equally interesting and affecting.

‘In the crowd,’ says Colonel Levasseur, ‘I noticed some ecclesiastics, and among the rest a Capuchin, whose costume, new to me, had attracted my attention on the day of my arrival. The account which I received of him highly interested me, and will, I doubt not, interest the reader.

‘Father Antonio is a venerable Spanish ecclesiastic of the Franciscan order, for many years residing in Louisiana. Surrounded by a population composed of different sects, he has never thought it his duty to trouble the consciences of others, by seeking recruits to his own faith. Sometimes, as a Capuchin, Father Antonio solicits charity, but it is only when he has some good action to perform, and his slender means, exhausted by constant alms-giving, are inadequate of themselves to the object. Every year, when on the return of the sickly season, the yellow-fever drives the wealthy inhabitants of New Orleans to their country seats for protection from disease and death, the worth of Father Antonio is seen in all its force. In these days of terror and mourning, how many unfortunates, abandoned by their friends and even their relations, have been indebted for health and life to his devotedness, to his cares, to his piety ! Of all whom he has thus saved (and they are numerous), there is not one who can say, “Before taking me under his care, he inquired what was my religion.”’ ‘When he came to see the General, Father Antonio was clothed according to the rule of his order, in a long brown frock, tied with a rope about the body. As soon as he perceived the General, he threw himself into his arms, saying, “Oh, my son, I have found favor with the Lord, for he has granted me, before I die, to see and hear the worthiest apostle of liberty.”’ He then conversed with the General, for a few moments, in the most affectionate manner, complimented him on the glorious and well deserved reception which he had received from the Americans, and modestly withdrew into a corner of the apartment.’ ‘When

the crowd had retired and he found the General alone, he ran to him and pressing him again in his arms, exclaimed, "Adieu my son; adieu, beloved General. Farewell! may the Lord go before thee, and after thy glorious visit is over, may he guide thee to the bosom of thy beloved family, to enjoy in peace the recollection of thy good actions, and the friendship of the people of America. Oh, my son, perhaps thou art still reserved for great achievements! Perhaps the Lord will yet make thee the instrument of emancipating other nations. Should that time come, think, my son, of poor Spain. Abandon not my dear country, my unhappy country." The tears fell on his venerable beard; his utterance was choked, and it was only after a pause of the deepest emotion that he was able to add, "My son, my dear son, do something for my wretched country." ' pp. 230-233.

When we read, in the last papers from France, the accounts of the present state of things in that kingdom; when we notice the irresistible onset made upon the ministry, and the visible perturbation of its ranks, it is impossible wholly to suppress the idea, that another great change is at hand. When we see the spontaneous movement of the people toward the person of Lafayette, the glowing zeal with which they have turned an excursion of business into another triumphant progress, strewing his way with honors such as loyal France never paid to her most cherished princes, we cannot but think, that the aspiration of the venerable Spanish priest is almost prophetic. The feelings of men inspire their actions; public sentiment governs states; and revolutions are the outbreaks of mighty, irrepressible passions. It is in vain to deny that these passions are up, in France; and happy is it, that they have concentrated themselves upon a patriot, whom prosperity has as little been able to corrupt, as adversity to subdue.

The happy amalgamation of the French and American population in Louisiana was evidently one of the most agreeable spectacles, which presented itself to General Lafayette, on his tour. It is one of the most precious lessons which our history contains. When Louisiana was acquired, a great problem presented itself, of which the solution could not be thrust aside; which it was necessary for the government and the people of the United States and the inhabitants of Louisiana to meet. France sold the country to the United States. It is plain, that, on American principles, France could do nothing, which would bind any body but herself; and that we could acquire no rights, under the purchase, except as against France

and other powers admitting the right of a mother country to transfer the jurisdiction of a colony. It was the opinion of Mr Jefferson and his cabinet, that it was necessary for the people of Louisiana to do some act, expressive of their willingness to join the American people, and that the constitution of the United States must be amended, to admit of this addition to the confederated family. The first measure (which presented no practical difficulties, that we are aware of) was superseded by the obvious good will and predisposition of the population. The second (which in the theory of our government was necessary) was waved under the dictation of high national convenience; and it is not within our knowledge, that the momentous result of transferring all Louisiana (an empire of itself) from one jurisdiction to another, was attended with an irregular movement, which it required a sergeant's guard to repress.

While the Canadas have been haunting the British parliament, for seventy years, like a wrathful ghost, constantly harassed with a legislation that never satisfies them, overwhelmed with favors that do not propitiate, and taunted with concessions which are as grateful to a proud colony as alms-bread is to a proud man, Louisiana has sprung up at once into an affectionate, congenial member of the confederacy. She was Catholic; how did Protestant America deal with that fearfully sensitive interest, the Catholic faith of her newly gathered brethren? The treaty of cession guarantied to them the undisturbed liberty of conscience, with the assurance that this is all, which any communion in the whole republic enjoys. In Canada, the British government *tolerates* the Catholic faith, the faith of the mass of the population, (and next to persecution, *toleration* is the most odious word in the vocabulary of oppression; for the power, that makes a merit of tolerating, claims *ipso facto* the right of not tolerating, that is, of persecuting), endows the Church of England, and even requires the professors of her colleges in Canada to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles.*

* In the very interesting debate in the House of Commons, May 2, 1828, 'on the civil government of the Canadas,' Sir James Mackintosh observed, 'In Upper Canada, the people were much dissatisfied, by the immense grants of land, which had been made to the Church of England, and the reserves kept for a church, which is not the religion of a majority of the people. Such endowments may be held sacred, when they have been long made, but I do not see the propriety of now

Louisiana had been both a Spanish and a French colony ; how did republican America manage the nice questions of government and law ? She guarantied to them the enjoyment of all those portions of their old law, which they themselves might choose to retain ; declared them independent, and free to adopt any modification of republican government, that they might choose ; and admitted them into the federal union, on terms of equality. In Canada, before the question can be answered, on what footing England has placed the law and the government, you must say as to what period of ten years you inquire ; for two lustrums is an old age for a British charter in Canada. There is the law of 1763, and the law of 1774, and the law of 1778, and the law of 1791, as each new minister chooses to make what he deems *experimentum in corpore vili*.

Most ardently is it to be wished, that the happy example, which has so prosperously attached to our union, on the south, the French colony of Louisiana, could effectually point the way to an equally auspicious junction of the French colonies of the north. What privileges would it open for the Canadas ; what collisions would it obviate between Great Britain and the United States ; what a relief would it afford to England ; what a noble accession would it constitute to our republic. Great Britain, of course, in the present improved state of political science, can claim no right to control the will of the people of Canada. When this subject was alluded to, in the House of Commons, in the debate above mentioned, all that was maintained in favor of a perpetuity of the colonial bond, was that England was bound to *protect* the colonies. This obligation, of course, ceases at the will of the colonists. It is not the duty of England to protect them, if they do not wish to be protected ; and if the four British provinces in North America should to-morrow propose to renounce the government of Great Britain, and join the confederacy of the United States, as the Congress of 1774 invited them to do,

making such endowments for a church which is not the religion of the people, nor do I understand the regulations, which have been made for the new college in Upper Canada. I see, with astonishment, that in a country, where the majority of the people do not belong to the Church of England, the professors must all subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles ; so that if Dr Adam Smith were alive, he could not fill the chair of political economy, and Dr Black would be excluded from the chair of chemistry.'

we do not know on what sound principles of natural or national law Great Britain could interpose an objection.

But, to return once more to the work before us, the passage of General Lafayette up the Mississippi ; his visits to St Louis, to Kaskaskia in Illinois, to Nashville in Tennessee, to Jeffersonville in Indiana, to Kentucky and Ohio ; his return to this neighborhood, to assist in the laying of the corner-stone of the monument on Bunker Hill ; his excursion to New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine ; his return through New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, to Washington ; his valediction at Washington ; his passage back to France, and his reception at home,—the topics which fill the residue of the second volume, are richly diversified with interesting matter of every kind. We might specify his rencounter with a female Indian, who had been brought up in civilized, and returned to savage life, the daughter of a chief who had served under Lafayette in 1778, and received from him a written testimonial to his character ; the interview at Nashville with the President of the United States ; the disaster on the Ohio, occasioned by a *snag* ; the visit to Mr Gallatin ; the whole ceremonial of Bunker Hill ; and the farewell scene at Washington. But we have left ourselves no space for further extracts.

There are those who deny to General Lafayette the name of a *great man*. This is a vague phrase, hard to define, of an acceptation somewhat dependent on the circle in which it is used. Does goodness belong to greatness, and make a part of it ? Who is there, that has run through such a career with so little reproach ? Are military courage and conduct the test of greatness ? Lafayette was trusted by Washington with all kinds of service ; the laborious and the complicated, which required patience and skill ; the perilous, that demanded nerve ; and we see him keeping up a pursuit, effecting a retreat, outmanœuvring an enemy, and heading an assault, with equal reputation and success. Are the willingness to meet tremendous responsibility, and the cool and brave administration of gigantic power, proofs of greatness ? Lafayette commanded in chief the national guard of France, three millions of bayonets. Is the fortitude, required to resist the urgency of a multitude pressing onward their leader to crime, a trait of true greatness ? Behold Lafayette, when he might have been the chief, becoming the fugitive of the French revolution. Is the solitary and unaided opposition of a good citizen to the pretensions of

an absolute ruler, whose power was as boundless as his ambition, an effort of greatness? Read the letter of Lafayette to Napoleon Bonaparte, refusing to vote for him as consul for life. Is a voluntary return, in advancing years, to the direction of affairs, at a moment like that when the ponderous machinery of the French empire was flying asunder, stunning, rending, crushing, annihilating thousands on every side, a mark of greatness? Consider his calmness at the tribune, when allied Europe was at the gates of Paris, and Napoleon yet stood in his desperation and at bay. And add to all this the dignity, the propriety, the cheerfulness, the matchless discretion of his conduct, in the strange, new position, in which he was placed in this country. Those who deny such a man the meed of greatness, may award it, if they please, to their Alexanders and Cæsars, their Frederics and their Wellingtons.

ART. VIII.—*A Year in Spain.* By a Young American.
Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 395.

THE author of this book is certainly a sprightly, sensible, well informed traveller, with great activity of observation, a good talent at narration, and not deficient in the power of presenting scenes and objects to the reader's imagination. In October, 1826, he finds himself at Perpignan in the South of France, which he is the more willing to leave behind for Spain, as he had been disappointed in the scenery, and especially, what he expected to find the most delightful, the vineyards, which, instead of answering to the brilliant picture he had fancied, appeared very like our bean-fields or hop-fields; and as the cold north wind had withered and scattered the vine leaves, and the props, which answer to our bean-poles or hop-poles, had been removed to be housed for the winter, the prospect of the naked fields offered no charms to detain him from passing the Pyrenees. He found little of the Arcadia which he had imagined in this part of France, except the women, whom he admits to be Arcadian and 'beautiful; their glowing eyes and arch expression denoted intelligence and passionate feeling; while their ruddy hue and symmetric conformation gave assurance, that they were both healthy and agile.' In short,